

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MBABAN 00575 101645Z

43

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

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P R 101347Z APR 76

FM AMEMBASSY MBABANE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9427

INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LILONGWE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY MASERU

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L MBABANE 0575

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, WZ, XJ

SUBJECT: U. S. POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

REF: A. LONDON 5347 (NOTAL), B. GABORONE 0324 (NOTAL),  
C. MBABANE 0509 (NOTAL)

1. IN MY CALLS DURING THE PAST TEN DAYS ON BOTH THE RETIRING AND THE  
INCOMING PRIME MINISTERS OF SWAZILAND AND MOST OF THE COUNTRY'S OTHER  
MINISTERS, TWO THEMES HAVE CONSISTENTLY REOCCURRED WHEN THE DISCUSSIO  
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TURNED TO THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA:

A. DEEP CONCERN OVER THE SOVIET/CUBAN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA,  
ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR SWAZILAND, AND THE FAILURE OF THE USG TO  
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PAGE 02 MBABAN 00575 101645Z

PREVENT THIS INCURSION BY OUTSIDE COMMUNIST FORCES IN AFRICA.

B. THE FEELING THAT SOME DRAMATIC STEPS TOWARD MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA MUST BE TAKEN SOON TO PREVENT A HOLOCAUST IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

2. SWAZILAND KNOWS THAT IT IS TOO SMALL TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN SHAPING EVENTS IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD. GOS OFFICIALS ALSO KNOW THAT IF FULL SCALE WAR BETWEEN BLACKS AND WHITES BREAKS OUT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, SWAZILAND'S CHANCES OF SURVIVAL AS A PEACEFUL INDEPENDENT COUNTRY ARE MINIMAL. THEY ALSO FEAR AND DISTRUST THE COMMUNISTS, WHO THEY SEE AS A GROWING MENACE, AS WITNESSED BY THE NEW GOS PM'S REQUEST TO ME FOR SECURITY ASSISTANCE (MBABANE 0534)

IN THIS SITUATION, THEY LOOK TO US FOR LEADERSHIP, FOR SOME INITIATIVE THAT WILL ENABLE RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA TO EVOLVE TOWARDS MAJORITY RULE WITH A MINIMUM OF BLOODSHED AND WITHOUT COMMUNIST INTERVENTION. THE SWAZIS FEAR THAT IF THE GUERRILLAS AND THE KEY LEADERS OF THE MAJORITY-RULED SOUTHERN AFRICAN STATES ARE FORCED TO CHOOSE BETWEEN THE INDEFINITE POSTPONEMENT OF MAJORITY RULE IN THESE AREAS OR THE INVOLVEMENT OF CUBAN/SOVIET (OR POSSIBLY CHINESE) WEAPONS AND TROOPS TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL, THEY ARE LIKELY TO SEEK INCREASED COMMUNIST SUPPORT. THE GOAL WILL OUTWEIGH THE FEAR; THE END JUSTIFIES THE MEANS IN THEIR VIEW.

3. IF IT WERE CLEAR THAT THE RHODESIAN GUERRILLAS AND THE MILITARY POWER TO FORCE THE SMITH REGIME TO COMPROMISE QUICKLY, IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE FOR US TO LET NATURE TAKE ITS COURSE. THIS, HOWEVER, IS BY NO MEANS CERTAIN. GOS MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS EXPRESSED TO ME (MBABANE 0495), THE SAME VIEW AS PARA 2 REF A, THAT THE SMITH REGIME MAY WELL BE ABLE TO WITHSTAND THE ATTACKS OF THE POORLY TRAINED GUERRILLA BANDS FOR YEARS, PARTICULARLY IF IT RECEIVES OVERT OR COVERT AID FROM SOUTH AFRICA. IF THE GUERRILLA ATTACK STALLS, THE GUERRILLA LEADERS AND THEIR MORE RADICAL SUPPORTERS MAY BE UNWILLING TO WAIT THREE TO FIVE YEARS BEFORE CALLING FOR OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE. THE SWAZIS FEEL, BASED ON THE ANGOLA EXPERIENCE, THAT IT CANNOT BE ASSUMED THAT THE COMMUNISTS WILL RESPOND TO SUCH A REQUEST WITH RESTRAINT AND DISCRETION.

4. REGARDLESS OF WHAT THE COMMUNISTS MAY DO, THE PROBLEM FOR US, AS CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MBABAN 00575 101645Z

STATED PARA 3 REF A, IS TO CONVINCE THE AFRICANS THAT WE ARE INTERESTED IN MAJORITY RULE FOR ITS OWN SAKE, BECAUSE AS THE PRESIDENT SAID, IT IS MORALLY RIGHT. EVEN IF THE LIKELIHOOD OF COMMUNIST INTERVENTION IS REMOTE AND WE ARE DETERMINED TO PREVENT IT, WE MUST DEVELOP POLICIES THAT WILL CONVINCE THE AFRICANS THAT, AS THE SECRETARY SAID ON MARCH 16, "WE WANT TO SEE SELF-DETERMINATION, RACIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS SPREAD THROUGHOUT AFRICA."

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## Message Attributes

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